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Note

Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

XENOPHON AND HERODOTUS

Mr. Keller's article in the March number on "Xenophon's Acquaintance with the *History* of Herodotus" leads me to call attention to another parallel. In *Anab.* i. 7. 11-12 it is stated that the army of Artaxerxes numbered 1,200,000 and that there were four generals, each of 300,000. Herodotus (7. 60, 87, 184) tells us that the Asiatic land force of Xerxes numbered 1,800,000—1,700,000 foot and 100,000 mounted men (horse, camel, and chariot)—and he names (7. 82) six generals-in-chief (στρατηγοί). He does not state that each στρατηγός was in command of 300,000 men; in fact he names them only in connection with the 1,700,000 foot. In 8. 113, however, we are told that Mardonius, one of the six στρατηγοί, was left in Greece with 300,000 men, horse and foot, so that the inference is a fair one that Herodotus considered this number the full complement of a general's division. Xenophon tells us (1. 7. 13) that he got his facts from deserters from the king's army. Is it fair to accuse him of borrowing from Herodotus to make his "facts" more interesting? The figures are, of course, incredibly large, but may not both authors have had access to Persian sources, in which 300,000 appeared as a divisional unit? One's confidence in this natural assumption is somewhat shaken by the fact that Ctesias gives 400,000 as the total number of Persians at Cunaxa, and Ctesias was in a better position than either Herodotus or Xenophon to learn the details of the Persian military system. Fortunately there is a bit of very definite proof that Xenophon borrowed from Herodotus. The reading in *Anab.* i. 7. 12 is τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως στρατεύματος ἦσαν ἄρχοντες καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες τέτταρες, τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἕκαστος. This heaping up of different titles for the same officer is so peculiar that Weiske bracketed καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες. He is followed by Gemoll, while Rehdantz keeps στρατηγοί and rejects the other two. The manuscript authority is all against changing the text, one solitary manuscript, E, omitting καὶ στρατηγοί. Now these three titles are used by Herodotus in 7. 96 in the description of the army of Xerxes, but of officers of different rank, though a careless reader, without the details of chaps. 60-82 in mind, might suppose that ἄρχοντες and στρατηγοί referred to the same officer. At any rate the parallel gives a satisfactory explanation of an otherwise suspicious reading, and the double agreement, in content and form, is conclusive evidence of Herodotean influence.

A. G. LAIRD